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FOREWORD

THE following study was made between the years 1931 and 1935, in a series of sojourns with the Papago, totaling some fifteen months. It is to be considered as a sequel to a previous paper on Social Organization (Underhill, 1939) and uses data furnished by many of the same informants.

The study was made principally on the Sells reservation, the largest of three now occupied by the Papago, with a population (1940) of 5,577. At that time the San Xavier reservation had 513 and Gila Bend 127. Also, some visits were made across the Mexican border, where once there was a large Papago population. At present there is scarcely a village there which can be called exclusively Indian. The only one which holds a yearly Papago ceremony (Quitovaca) draws its performers largely from the American side. In Arizona, on the contrary, the Papago are a segregated group, with many ceremonies intact and others vividly remembered. Much regional difference was found, so that even on the Sells reservation ceremonial variations had to be traced through northern, southern, and western Papago.

Each village or group of related villages was found to have its specialist, usually hereditary, for every ceremony. A few of the more conservative objected to revealing their lore, but most finally consented to speak, always through an interpreter from the local group. Informants and interpreters are numbered for purposes of reference, and the number of each appears in parenthesis in the text following any statement for which he is the special authority.

Songs and ceremonial speeches were recorded in text, with interlinear translation. Here, there appears only the free transla-

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the present day many ceremonies that have been discarded by the Gila Pima and only vaguely hinted at by the vanishing Lower Pima or the Catholicized Tarahumara.

Rather we should say that *some* of them have retained *some* ceremonies, for the Papago are by no means a homogeneous group. Geographically they are divided into four main sections, each with a different dialect and, perhaps, having different biological elements in its population. These groups have been described in my previous volume,[1] but for convenience in following the ceremonies, they are listed briefly here.

Northern Papago (nicknamed *totokuanyi*, loose G string), sometimes called "Archie people," from the name of their head village. Residents of this large and important division speak of themselves as the true Desert People, the first settlers of the country. They are in intimate communication with the Pima, and this same communication was going on even in Kino's day. Their language is closer to Pima than it is to southern Papago and in fact forms one dialect group with Pima and *kuhatk*. Because of the rapid acculturation of the last two, it is hard to tell whether ceremonial customs were shared also.

Quajote (Papago, *kuhatk*, translated "dried and burnt," or "bowl," alluding to the topography). This division is in close contact with Pima country, and for practical purposes is to be considered part of it. The dialects are identical, and the residents, though claiming the name "desert people," have intermarried largely with the Pima and, like them, have adopted white ways. They figure very little in this study.

Western Papago (nicknamed *kuhura*, or *kuhula*, orphans). These Indians inhabit the inhospitable desert country, the nickname of its residents indicating that they had no good water and could not build permanent villages. The inhabitants are spoken of by other divisions as sorcerers, a sure sign of strangeness, and their dialect is recognizably different. From an ethnological point of view, the north-and-south line dividing these people from the two just mentioned, is more important than the political boundary between Papago and Pima.

Southern Papago (nicknamed *kokororoti*, or *kokololoti*, from Tecolote, one of their villages). If *kuhatk* belongs practically with the Pima, this division aligns with Mexico. Its people camp and run cattle on

[1] Underhill, 1939, pp. 59-69.

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both sides of the border, or they did until a recent boundary fence was erected. Their dialect shows many traces of Spanish, both in pronunciation and vocabulary. They are nominally Christians, and their government is of the style standardized by Spain for Mexican villages. They have abandoned most of the old ceremonies and customs and have been so harassed during the Mexican wars that their village, clan, and moiety affiliations have been largely broken up. As compensation, they shared earlier than the other groups in Spanish civilization. They were the first to use wheat, horses, and cattle, and they now include some incipient capitalists.

In a general study, it might be possible to include the Gila Pima, called by the Papago the "River People" as another division. We shall speak of them and the Papago together as Pimans, for the separation of the two groups, with their distinct names, is a recent development, due largely to reservation geography. However Pima ceremonies, today, are almost nonexistent. The Pima have been subject to white influence for almost one hundred years and, even when Russell visited them in 1901–2, he found only fragments of ritual practice. Nevertheless, such songs and speeches as he recorded, reveal striking likenesses to the material presented here.

True, there were some ceremonies which the Pima never had, such as the salt pilgrimage and the rituals for local shrines. Yet most others have left their traces. Sometimes a single song, roughly classed as "medicine" or "festal," has the very words of a Papago song that forms an integral part of some long ritual. Elements of a curing practice which Russell could not explain, appear to be fragments of the prayerstick festival that had been retained for curing, though abandoned as a public performance. These similarities have been noted in their suitable order. They give the impression that Pima ceremonial life strongly resembled that of the northern Papago. It may not have differed from that of the other divisions any more than they differed from each other.

Papago and Pima both are divided into moieties, known usually as Red Ants and White Ants among the Pima, Buzzard and Coyote among the Papago. These sometimes have minor functions in ceremony, such as painting the dancers but they do not conduct ceremonies nor possess rituals. The same is true of the four sibs or clans,

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natural help first arose. Again, there are long passages of the myth 773
that are unconnected with ritual and unknown, even to some ceremonialists. Still, it serves to place some of the supernaturals and the ceremonies they instituted.

The myth takes the usual southwestern form—a long prose narrative, interspersed with songs at points of crisis. The story is told in the narrator's own words, but the songs are, supposedly, those sung by the supernaturals and their followers when the Papago world was young. The songs, therefore, should always be the same, even though the narrative varies for each storyteller. If this was ever the case, it is so no longer. A few songs are so important that [184] ●
they always appear, but there are long cycles which are sung in one village, but not in another. The relevant prose chapters appear and disappear in the same way.[8] One is reminded of many Pueblo and Navaho myths which, after a common introduction, diverge to describe exploits concerning particular groups or ceremonies.

There are only a few accredited narrators. One can be found in 538
every dialect division, though by no means in every village. Each narrator has received his lore from some relative; usually in the male line, and has learned it by the tedious process of repeatedly hearing the whole, without interruption, from beginning to end. He will hand it on in the same way to some young man, chosen for intelligence and a retentive memory. If suitable heirs are scarce, he may choose from the mother's side of the family, and even women have sometimes qualified. Members of the narrator's audience, too, may learn fragments of the tale and become informal narrators to small groups.

No central body passes on the correctness of any narrative. Each 773
village is a law unto itself, holding tight to its local version of myth 538
and ceremony. Here is no organized body of ceremonialists, intent on welding a theology into shape. Instead, there are a number of individualists, growing farther apart as lapses of memory and imaginative substitutions tend to change their narratives.

[8] The above statement would probably apply to the whole of Pimeria Alta for the Pima myth (Russell, pp. 206–42; 272–82) is essentially the same as the Papago. It would, in fact, appear to be better preserved, for it names more supernaturals than does the Papago version, and its details are more logically presented. See notes on pp. 8, 10, 11.

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Power speeches, also, are localized and varied. Each ceremonial "father" has his own set, perhaps learned in his own village, perhaps in another. All are considered equally efficacious, but a neophyte is likely to choose a "father" from his own locality and so perpetuate the local variation. Thus, Anegam has an elaborate set of salt speeches, while the other villages manage with almost none. Komarik and Santa Rosa have war speeches so different that they seem like two halves of a ceremonial whole. The latter village, in fear of losing its ritual altogether, held a mock war raid and initiated two young men, the sons of famous scalpers. The garbled manner in which one of them recited the ritual gave ample illustration of the way in which whole passages may be altered or lost.

Esoteric speeches are couched in "soft words," or standardized circumlocutions which avoid naming an animal or object. Thus, Coyote is "the woolly comrade"; the sun, "the shining traveler"; the stones which hold a pot on the fire are the "three shamans." So far-fetched are some of these expressions that an interpreter with no ritual knowledge cannot understand them. One is reminded of the standardized poetic titles in Beowulf and Homer. However, in the writer's opinion the Papago expressions are not mere metaphor; they may well be related to the taboo against the use of personal names and may be meant as respectful treatment of the supernaturals and even the objects which can influence a ceremony. "Salt pilgrims" carry the attitude so far as to use roundabout terms in ordinary conversation. There is, in fact, a "salt language," parallel to the "war language" of the Apache,[10] and of some Plains tribes. We might hazard the idea that the peaceful Papago have transferred this peculiar form of respect from war to another dangerous enterprise. Nor is it unrelated to the circumlocutions by which many peoples avoid the names of the dead.

A ceremonial speech has not only a peculiar vocabulary but also a peculiar form of delivery. It is pronounced in a low voice and entirely without gesture. Its mumbled words are almost inaudible, but it is given, not for its effect on the audience, but as a magic spell. Nevertheless, there are two distinct speaking techniques. The

[10] Opler, p. 210.

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SONG CYCLES

The songs of any ceremony are in sets, each describing the desired event in different phrases. Hunting songs may picture the whole process of tracking and killing the deer; growing songs, the development of corn. They are sung in series by a chorus who have learned them from the mythteller. The myth may be recited separately, or, perhaps, not at all. 533

However, the conception of dreaming having impinged on that of ritual recitation, the old song cycles no longer remain intact. One man may dream a new song and add it to the series. Since often the foundation myth is not learned, the new song may be interpolated at any point, whether logical or not. Finally, the original songs are pushed out. 533 184

Some old informants may still be found who assert that they know the order of I'itoi's songs, but on comparing their version with the myth, the claim was usually found invalid. Most singers do not know the complete cycle. They pick up songs wherever they can and use them to fill out the number.

But songs may easily be learned without dreaming. A man who has heard them often may finally know enough for a night's singing, though not in a logical series. Ultimately, he will have a dream which authorizes him to use this series officially. Also he may learn from relatives who sing at home, or may pick up songs during the days of drinking, when even shamans' songs are not kept secret. The result is a great efflorescence of songs and a confusion of cycles. No two singers can be found whose series are the same. The custom is, when a cycle is needed, to invite several men and let each sing all he knows. If these are not enough on the subject, anyone else may be invited to contribute a song.

Naturally, with such variety, there is no definite order. However, there are certain songs on each subject which are known as beginning or ending songs. Certain songs are sung before midnight, and some should come near dawn. Although every singer knows a beginning and an ending song, the other classifications are often disregarded.

In any series, the songs need not have the same tune. The style of 533

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drunk yearly in order to bring rain, but that there must always be a speech of admonition forbidding the people to quarrel or misbehave when they drink.(1)

The families returned from the cactus camp to the summer villages, where they would do their planting as soon as they had "pulled down the clouds." In old days no planting was allowed until after the ceremony. At present, the villages in the southern part of the reservation no longer hold it, and those in the north hold theirs seriatim, so that one man, if he wished, could attend all in turn.

The date of the festival was discussed by the elders of each village. Then a formal meeting was held at which announcement was made that the festival would take place in four days. Everyone was instructed to bring his share of syrup, within two days' time. At Kaka there was a call from the house tops to this effect:

CALL TO BRING SYRUP

Hurry! Hither bring, each of you, his syrup.
Soon we shall make liquor!
Soon it will ferment,
Soon we shall drink,
Soon it will rain.(3)

Any village which possessed sacred objects brought them from their hiding place and placed them with the liquor during fermentation. Santa Rosa, whose sacred basket contains a long string of eagle feathers, hung them up outside the council house. Pisínimo, which keeps hidden in the desert a basket containing eagle down and various fetishes, sent a man to get this basket and bring it to the ceremonial house. They also sent runners to the related villages, asking for gifts of eagle down and deer tails, which, when brought, were offered to the basket to increase its power. The keeper of the smoke, at the meeting where the festival was announced, gave directions in the verbose, colloquial style which is so different from the recited rituals.

2. Know that you are to appoint youths who will run about to all the houses and request deer tails, eagle down, and beads. One must go to the shaman and summon him to come here in the morning, to

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had with him a deputy who had learned it in the proper way, from some older relative.

The speeches, both of invitation and of response, were hereditary, and were somewhat different, at least in later days, for each village. At Santa Rosa they were known as mocking bird speeches; at Pisinimo, they were wind speeches; at Kaka, brave speeches. A Pima from Sacaton stated that in his locality they were known as cotton blanket speeches, because of the costume of the orator. They were delivered not in the abrupt, staccato style of the war and salt speeches, but were smooth and flowing, with heavy emphasis on the last word in each sentence. They mention a supernatural about whom none of the speakers could tell anything, but who resembles the rain gods of Mexican tradition.

MOCKING BIRD SPEECHES

INVITATION TO THE SIT-AND-DRINK

(Santa Rosa)

Am not I a messenger
Something delightful desiring?

Once I knew not what to do [to make liquor].
[In my despair] at the foot of a tree prone I lay.
The wind blew.
Dust it blew along the ground and cast it upon my face.
Twigs and gravel it blew along the ground and tangled them in my hair.
Then I arose.

Of the kinsmen living around me, I bethought me.
I called them by the kinship term and wept.
Then they had pity on me.
Some liquid in the bottom of a jar they gave me.

Half dead I sat before it,
Desiring that speedily [it should ferment, but still it did not].
Then I bethought me of my home,
And thither I turned to go,
But at the door I turned again and back I came.
Then [the liquor] had pity on me,
And after two mornings gloriously it fermented.

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field, perhaps with a group of kinsmen who were aiding him, and sang:

15. Here I put my hand in my pouch,
And downward I go dropping [the seed].
Here upon our fields
A [clump like a] feather headdress
Comes forth.(50)

Then, as he walked down the first row, dropping four seeds into every hole made by his digging stick, he might address the corn.

16. Hail! I shall drop you in the ground.
You will come out and will ripen.
From elsewhere my relatives will come,
Will arrive, and will eat you.(3)

Sometimes the individual continued to sing at each stage of the growth of the corn and the squash. "He would walk about the field at night, quietly singing." Or he would stand at the edge of the field at dawn, and sing before starting to work. His songs might be any of those which were used for community singing.

At Tecolote, in the southern part of the reservation, growth magic consisted, not in opening a sacred bundle, but in making effigies to represent the crops, both cultivated and wild.[6]

A series of communal meetings were held during the summer to "sing up the crops," and for days beforehand all the men were busy making representations of the expected fruits. A corn ear was carved from a section of giant cactus rib, with the long leaves of the yucca to serve as foliage. Squash was made from flexible ocotillo stems covered with buckskin, dyed yellow. Beans might be small spotted pebbles. Giant cactus and cholla fruits were made of clay and painted wood.

A fire was built in front of the council house and the fruits were laid in a row to the west of it. Still farther west sat all the available shamans, and beyond them were the singers, with basket drums and scraping sticks. Usually an old man who knew the legends of corn

[6] Cf. the facsimiles of corn and squash offered by Hopi and Zuni to induce increase. Parsons, 1939, p. 316.

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and squash sat in the center and opened the ceremony by a recital of the story. There are many conflicting versions of this story, each with its own series of songs. Each locality had its favorite, which the local narrator inserted in the origin myth. One of the best known is that of the corn woman, which has its own set of songs, with a special refrain, *Hiro a'dro.*[1]

MYTH OF THE CORN WOMAN

Corn was a man who seduced a Papago woman. She lived with him a long time, and at last returned to her husband. At night she sang to him the songs the corn had taught her. The keeper of the smoke sent a messenger asking why the husband neglected the council meetings. He replied: "I am listening to my wife." The council meeting invited the woman to come. She sat between her husband and the keeper of the smoke, and sang one corn song. All the meeting began to sing. She sang another, and the women came from their houses to listen. At the third the women sang, too, and at the fourth all danced.

SONGS OF THE CORN WOMAN

WHEN CORN FIRST APPEARS

28. Songs begin.
At the west they begin.
Thereby the corn comes up.
Upward its heart [the ear] is stretching.
At the west they begin.
Hiro a'dro!

Songs are ending.
At the east they are ending.
Thereby squash comes up.
In a row its hearts [fruits] are standing
At the east they are ending.
Hiro a'dro!(s)

WHEN CORN IS ONE FOOT HIGH

29. At the west, the red corn.
See me!
I come forth and grow tall.
Yonder on the moist ground

[1] For Pima songs with this refrain see Russell, pp. 333-34.

[Re the legend of corn and squash -- Analyst]

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with any relatives who had been less fortunate. Most of it was taken home and prepared for a feast to which all the old and indigent were invited, as well as the visiting kin. The speech emphasizes also the gifts of cooked food which were sent to other houses.

THE DEER DRIVE AND THE CLEANSING CEREMONY

As the ceremonial rabbit drive opened the summer hunting season, so a deer drive opened the winter season. At least, this was so among the northern Papago, whose deer hunting began in November. The southern Papago held their deer dance and hunt in August. In both cases the procedure was the same. A blacktailed deer was ritually killed and cooked, with corn, beans, and squash from the harvest. Songs, dancing, and orations united and sanctified all this food in a general cleansing ceremony.

The rites were instituted by I'itoi, say the ceremonialists, because after he had created the deer he found that the people became sick from eating too much of it. So he showed them a dance by which they might "step down the sickness." Though this is popularly known as "deer dance," it has nothing in common with the dances for multiplying game, so common among the Pueblos. Its Papago name is *md'makah*, a word no informant could translate. One member of the *maam* sib thought that it might refer to that group, to which he said *I'itoi* had specifically given it. Certain it is that in this ceremony sib distinctions play an important part. Special roles are assigned to members of *maam* and *dapap*, but since these are the oldest and most important members of Buzzard and Coyote, respectively, it may be that the distinction is actually one of moiety.[11]

A cleansing ceremony was given in each of the important ceremonial centers, Archie, Pisinimo, Kaka, and Quitovaca (Sonora). The only one still in force is that held at Quitovaca, though the Pisinimo people, who are Catholics, substitute for it the killing of a beef in front of the church on Holy Cross day and the distribution of cakes instead of venison. Accounts of the dance were obtained from Kaka, Santa Rosa, Pisinimo, and Quitovaca and are different enough to be treated separately.

[11] For description of sibs and moieties see Underhill, 1939, pp. 30–34.

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The following song belongs to the purification of an eagle killer, but it is "all right in the cleansing ceremony." 796 224 689

10. I met the eagle often
The green rock upon.

I met the hawk often
The white rock upon.(3)

The song given below is sung when the dance is about to end. The dancers then run to a distant pond to wash off the paint.

Beside the wide water,
There is a strand.
Very wet!(3)

During the dance the shaman might suck the piles of corn and squash on display, to remove any evil. If they had been infected, he would withdraw blood and spit it out.(4) The spectators, meantime, feasted on cooked food, either pit-baked corn or a stew of corn and beans. Toward the close of the dance the deer meat was distributed, cut into small pieces, with the recitation of a ritual now forgotten. Each person took a portion, which he rubbed downward over his face and body, saying: "Make me well." After the meat was eaten, no bones might be thrown on the ground lest a dog should carry them to a house where there was a menstruating woman. If this should happen, no more deer could be caught. All bones must be placed on top of the ceremonial house, where they remained for a year. Even those who took meat home to other members of the family must first remove the bones. 796 224

The meat had all been distributed by the time the dance ended. The dancers took a cold bath to wash off the paint, and then they were free from restrictions.

At Santa Rosa and Archie, the preliminary announcement and speech were the same as at Kaka, and all the men of the village went out to get the deer. But it must not be shot. Anyone who wounded it, either with arrow or rock, would be wounded himself in the same place. The proper method was to strangle it. The men surrounded it, on foot, clubbed it and threw it to the ground. Then a hereditary officiant with the title *mi'ītcitam* (killer on an- [184]

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mony the notched stick must not be scraped with another stick, but with the foreleg of the deer.

Dancers were two boys and two girls (representing the children once sacrificed at this village to prevent a flood). Their bodies were painted red, with white spots to represent corn. Some informants said the faces were half yellow and half white as the representatives of these children were painted at the prayer-stick festival. Boys carried an arrow over the right shoulder, girls an ear of corn in each hand.

The few songs obtained deal with the dance itself.

13. The feast, the feast!
It begins and goes forward.(27)

14. What man is it
Stooping here? [over dead deer]
Oh, it is hawk meeter man
Here stooping.(12)

What man is it
Who has killed the deer?
Oh, it is the wind man; the deer he has killed!
Yonder he struggles to carry it on his head.(27)

15. Do you see, yonder coming toward us
The tail of the black deer?(27)

Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing brought here;
Poor thing, walking yonder on the mountains
It nearly fell!(12)

At Pisinimo in the south the *maam* sib is very important, and various features of the ceremony hinge on the contrast of *maam* and *dapap* or, perhaps, since the other clans are never mentioned, of their respective moieties, Buzzard and Coyote.

Here no speeches were remembered for the announcement or for butchering the deer. It was killed with arrows in the usual way but a *maam* man must bring home the meat and an *dapap* the tail. Before the feast, the village elders brought the ceremonial basket from its hiding place in the desert and placed it to the east of the

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When the dance was over, the elders gathered up the deer bones, the deer tail, and the scraping sticks. They passed the deer tail around the ceremonial basket, which was then taken to its hiding place in the desert. The deer bones and the scraping sticks were laid beside it. The eagle down which the dancers had worn on their heads was also put inside the basket.(1)

At the Mexican village (of Quitovaca) the dance is still performed every August, ten days before the prayer-stick ceremony. There are no speeches, and the deer is not strangled; but there is an elaborate dance with meat hung on a pole, after the manner of the Tarahumara, farther south.[18]

The dance takes place in the daytime, the dancers being twenty girls and twenty boys, with no clan restrictions. The boys' bodies are painted with horizontal lines in white, and the girls' with white splashes. The girls and unmarried men carry nothing in their hands, while the married men have feathered arrows, with which to "beckon the clouds." The line faces east, with married men at the south end, single at the north. The movements are like those at Pisinimo. To the east of the dancers is a pole on which the deer meat is tied in sacks, and when the dancers circle, it is around this pole. Only a few scattered songs were obtained.

30. The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
The emergents, our kinsmen,
They have just come forth!(20)Ed.7.

31. The *maam* clan,
The *maam* clan
Here came forth;
From this reddish earth
Came forth.(20)

32. Am I not the cleansing dance?
Am I not the cleansing dance?
This land is covered with green.(20)

33. The wind blows;
Widely it seems to spread.

[18] Bennett and Zingg, p. 278.

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There at the earth's edge
It rests.(20)Ed.4.

34. The rain in a narrow strip moves along.
Under it grass and seed,
In plenty, come forth.(20)

35. There, yonder, far I go.
A little way off, a lonely hill I climb.
Toward me, the deer are straying.
I see them, and like an eagle I scream.(20)

36. [I want to be] brave like a bear.
[I want to be] brave like a puma.
Deer in a long row [would come] toward me.
When I saw them
[I would] squawk like a hawk.

37. The bear, the bear!
He touches the earth with the flat of his hand.
The puma, the puma!
He touches the mountains with the flat of his hand.(20)Ed.6.

After the last song the dancers bathe in cold water, and then for four days they must stay in seclusion, like the warrior and the salt pilgrim, fasting from meat, grease, and salt and using the scratching stick.

It will be noticed that with this ceremony each village seems to have emphasized a particular feature, while the others either have been forgotten or were never instituted. Thus, while the northern villages share the announcement and butchering speeches, it is only at Archie that the deer was ritually strangled and only at Santa Rosa that the long speech was made for annihilating evil. The south remembers no speeches at all, but has some of the oldest songs. At Pisinimo the moieties are stressed more than anywhere else, and at Quitovaca they hold to the subsequent purification for dancers, no longer required elsewhere. Some of these differences may be due to lapses of memory by the informants, since the dance is no longer held except at Kaka and Quitovaca. But others must surely be laid to a gradual differentiation between villages. Whether this meant only the dropping of some features from

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an originally elaborate feast, or whether new elements like the Santa Rosa speech were actually introduced, must await further investigation.

The cleansing ceremony has been given up in all villages known to the writer. Elements of it may persist in some parts of the reservation, however. At Pisinimo the ceremony seems to have been amalgamated with the Christian celebration of Holy Cross Day (see Chapter XIV).

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7

THE PRAYER-STICK FESTIVAL

EVERY fourth winter among the northern Papago, every summer among the southern Papago, there took place a peculiarly sacred ceremony, the *wiikita*. This has been spoken of as a harvest festival, but it did not come at harvest time, and its purpose, say the Papago, was to "keep the world in order" and prevent a flood. Keeping the world in order was a function of the Pueblo solstice ceremonies, and, indeed, the respective dates of the prayer-stick festival come as near to summer and winter solstices as they do to harvest. It seems more accurate, therefore, to use some approach to the Papago name. The word *wiiki* means bird down, and *ta*, made. That which is made of bird down is a prayer stick, and the *wiikita* was the time, above all others, when prayer sticks were used. In these pages it will be called the prayer-stick festival.

The feast was instituted by I'itoi during his march of conquest. While leading the people through Papagueria, he placed prayer sticks of turkey feathers [1] at two places: Archie, among the northern Papago, and Quitovaca, now in Sonora. This was to signify that the people should settle first of all in these places [2] and that the turkey should be their food. The prayer-sticks marked the chosen sites, while the people crossed water and finally returned. They came first to Archie, where they settled in force, and therefore Archie has for years had the elaborate quadrennial festival in

[1] According to Parsons (1939, Vol. I, p. 290) turkey feathers are the commonest of all feathers used on Pueblo prayer sticks.

[2] Note the Jemez myth that the people on reaching their present site put down red-stained eagle feathers "to be the roots of the town." *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 255.

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early December. Only a few went on to Quitovaca, which has a much smaller festival every August. The two ceremonies are so different as to need separate descriptions.

THE WINTER CEREMONY[3]

The San Xavier calendar stick, which records the important events among the northern villages for the last eighty years, has, regularly every four years, a blue dot to represent the prayer-stick festival at Archie. It was discontinued after 1912, but revived in 1932, and now the Archie people plan to continue it regularly. It is, as has been mentioned, a co-operative effort on the part of Archie and her daughter villages and serves as a general reunion, when every family of Archie stock returns to camp around the mother village and shares in the general blessing.

The villages of this common family are those which occupy one of the typical north and south valleys of Papagueria, extending in this case from Archie on the north to Big Fields on the south. Archie is the oldest settlement and almost contiguous with it is its daughter Santa Rosa, divided into two sections known as the Burnt Seeds and Palo Verde Standing. The other offspring are scattered down the valley, the most important being the ancient town first called Mesquite Root, then Iron Pump and now deserted for Big Fields, where its farms are.

Archie, Santa Rosa, and Iron Pump always join for the prayer-stick festival. With them is the neighbor village Akchin, more distantly related and with offshoots in another valley. Finally they admitted a comparatively new settlement, belonging to people of another dialect who had moved near them. This was Anegam, (place of the willows). These towns co-operate and sing against each other as do *kivas* and moieties in localities of a different organization. All their offshoots and "relatives" come to the ceremony and camp nearby, each identifying itself, for the singing, with its mother village.[4]

[3] Briefly described in Mason, 20.

[4] In the account of the prayer-stick festival for 1932, one informant substituted Palo Verde Standing for Iron Pump, claiming that the latter has now almost no inhabitants. It is former Iron Pump people who live at Palo Verde.

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At sunset all the people went to the dance ground. This was 796 184
arranged on the same plan as at Archie except that instead of one new ceremonial enclosure, there were two, one to house the more northern villages joining in the feast, one for the southern ones. The division was geographical and had nothing to do with moiety. The enclosures were of the same roofless type used at Archie and stood in the same position, with their openings facing away from the dance ground, so that the singers might dress unseen and emerge in full panoply.

To the northeast of the center stood the tuft of turkey feathers, and to the west, not the ceremonial house since this happened to stand in the crowded village, but a shelter where the sacred basket could be displayed. This honoring of the local fetish is an essential part of the ceremony. At Archie, it will be remembered, four children danced to represent the patrons of the shrine. At Quitovaca the sacred basket is brought from its place in the hills and guarded for twenty hours by a woman. This basket supposedly contains the heart of a monster killed by I'itoi. The heart was in two portions, male and female, but "the male was stolen, and only the female is left." Therefore a female guardian is necessary. [287] She must be past childbearing age and was chosen by the elders of the village, if possible from the same family as her predecessor. Like the child dancers at Archie, this woman must not leave the shelter during her hours of service and must eat nothing but a sup of corn-meal gruel three times a day.

A little before sunset Sacramenta, the woman guardian of the 796
bundle, went to the council house to receive it. The bundle is normally kept, not at the big house, but in a cave in the hills, since the Quitovacans say they fear its desecration by Mexicans. It is fetched on the day before the feast by a party of men, and taken back on the day after. The keeper of the smoke placed the basket on Sacramenta's head, and as she proceeded to the feast ground a man walked in front of her with a lighted firebrand. She placed the bundle on its rack and sat down in front of it. She was to retain the same upright position, with feet stretched out in front of her, for twenty-four hours. In the same shelter, just as at Archie, were the four scraping-stick musicians. These were to be subject to the same rules, except that they sat cross-legged in order to use the basket drum.

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During the ceremony cactus liquor was being fermented in the council house, since at Quitovaca the rainmaking ceremony has coalesced with the prayer-stick festival. The process was under the charge of an appointed liquormaker, but there was much less ceremony than in the north. A tuft of eagle down was placed over the door of the council house and another on the ground outside. The latter was attached to a stick two feet high painted with a red spiral. No explanation of the decoration could be given. "It was from the beginning."

The scraping-stick musicians acted as tasters. Samples were brought to them in their shelter, and they consumed a jugful at each test, sharing it with the woman guardian of the basket. The writer, invited to sit with them, was offered her share and had a chance to hear them joke each other about the fast they were enduring.

"Well, liquor's good enough, but now bring some corn-meal mush." "Where's the coffee?" "My legs are stiff, I haven't been out for three hours."

The men did get up occasionally and walk about, but the woman guardian sat absolutely still for the whole twenty-four hours.

This happened to be a specially fortunate festival for the liquor fermented before the day was half over. "Because of that," clouds gathered early, and by mid-afternoon there was such a torrential downpour that the performance had to be left unfinished. When it broke up, the woman guardian took the basket on her head and, escorted as before, carried it back to the council house. After the drinking it was returned to its cave in the hills. From the council house a man not in costume went around the village inviting the men. "Come friend. Get well drunk." Drinking lasted until dawn, when the liquor was exhausted.

Both the prayer-stick festivals are still being given. For a time, the winter festival was dropped but it was revived in 1932 and the Archie people plan to continue it permanently. The summer festival has been held continuously but it is much abbreviated. It has coalesced with the cleansing ceremony and the rainmaking to form the one yearly performance at Quitovaca.

[p. 162 is blank]

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WARFARE

PAPAGO war ritual[1] never mentions the glory of war. Bravery and prowess are recognized unofficially, and the informal speeches even make much of them, but in the official orations war is conceived of as an onerous duty. The descriptions are not of battles but of the visions which precede and follow them. Actual fighting is expressed by metaphor or disposed of in one hurried sentence. Emphasis is all on the obligation to the community, the steps taken to work the fighters up to action, and the final reward. This last is neither prestige, booty, nor satisfied vengeance, but that *sine qua non* of a desert people—rain.

This is the attitude of busy agriculturists who fought, as the Papagos say they did fight, only in self-defense. They were often attacked by the raiding Apache around them, and all their men had to be trained for war. In fact, there was no escape from mili-

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[1] The warpath ceremonial was highly developed among the Pima (Russell, pp. 352–84), and its speeches have been preserved while other ceremonies were lost. Pima rituals do not correspond with those of the Papago speech for speech, but the same material is used by both groups in different combinations. One important difference is that the Papago divide this material into speeches for the warpath and others for the subsequent purification. Russell (pp. 204–5) describes an arduous purification, but all the speeches he gives are assigned to the warpath and to definite stages in its progress. The Papago use some of this same speech material for salt gathering and for building a ceremonial house.

Granting these differences, the northern Papago, from whom the speeches were taken, show more likeness to the Pima than to Papago of other divisions, where the speeches were sought in vain. The likeness would have been greater had not the Pima speeches been translated as prose and the Papago as poetry. The writer, however, is willing to defend her use of the free verse form. The speeches, as recited, have a definite rhythm, entirely different from that of ordinary talking. It is easy to recognize the end of a line by the heavy stress on the last word and these lines have been adhered to in the translation. As noted in the introduction, their length cannot be exactly that of the original, but the proportion of long and short is similar.

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727 This readmission of the purified warrior into the fellowship of
773 kin lasted until almost dawn. Then the Apache effigy was brought and held up by the guardian or the shaman to catch the rays of the rising sun, in order to catch an enemy soul to animate the effigy. All Apache souls, alive and dead, are in the sun, and all are seeking an abode. The dead souls fly low; the live ones, high. The shaman recognized them as they came and moved the effigy up and down so as to avoid the dead ones and entrap a live one This done, he tied up the basket (9).[18]

●[184] A long speech was recorded as being made at this time, the
727 northern Papago attributing it to the guardian; the southern, to
783 the shaman. It has the same effect of patching noted in one of the
639 warpath speeches and seems to represent fragments of at least three compositions. The sonorous beginning from the origin myth may once have continued to an account of the first purification. As recited, it launches suddenly into a description of the Apache. Then comes a portion whose repetitions have the style of some standard ritual and which seems to refer to the dreams of a warrior undergoing purification. This also breaks off and gives way to a vivid and colloquial account of tracking the enemy. In typical Papago fashion the actual killing is pushed into one brutal last sentence.

SPEECH OF SHAMAN OVER TROPHY

783 31. Who was it who did thus?
727 He spread the earth and finished it.
639 I'itoi, the shaman, did thus:
He spread the earth and finished it.
Upon it stones he set and finished.
Upon it trees he erected and finished.
Upon it mountains he erected and finished.
Springs of water he poured out and finished.

[18] This information came from a war shaman who had himself performed the ritual. He was confused about the detail of catching enemy souls and changed his statements about live and dead souls several times before deciding on the correct version. It seems possible to the writer that the soul catching may be a recent interpretation and that the parallel of this ceremony might be looked for in Mexican rituals where captive enemies were sacrificed to the sun.

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317 tarily, almost to starvation. They run until men have been known
484 to die from the effects. The south, which is the direction of the gulf, is often designated in their poetry, not by a color, but as "the painful direction."

The hardships, which have been thus raised from an accident into an institution, constitute one of the principal opportunities for gaining power. The journey is hedged about with ceremonial restrictions, from the time it is first proposed till long after the return. The salt pilgrimage is, in fact, very like a war party, and some of its rules are even more stringent. It is as though the Papago, who had so little to do with war, had transferred some of the magical elements connected with it to this safer and more regular form of ordeal.

The returned pilgrims were purified, like the enemy slayer and the eagle killer, and they achieved the same title: "ripe man." Their endeavor, like that of the other power seekers, resulted ultimately in rain. Pilgrims are thought to bring back with them the moist wind from the ocean, and the songs used for their purification are the same as those for the growth of crops. During the ritual the salt is ceremonially spoken of as corn. Yet it is not, in itself, sacred, any more than are the crops. After a little of it has been purified, just as specimen crops are purified at the cleansing
[43] ceremony, salt may be eaten, given away, or even traded, without further ritual. The Pima, who do not make the salt pilgrimage, used to get all their salt from the Papago by trade.

PREPARATION

[184] [197] All the Papago villages, in the old days, made the salt pilgrimage. Now, some have dropped it, and others may have dropped most of the ritual. Only Santa Rosa and Anegam have a full set of songs and speeches, and the others admit that "they know how to get salt. The rest of us just do what we can."

Each main village had for the salt expedition a recognized leader who was known as *siiwanyi*, the old name for rain magician. His functions were both practical and priestly, for not only must he know the route and the water holes but also must make

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317 ingly. Each man took only one horse, rode it to the salt beds,
484 loaded it, and walked home. Each pilgrim must keep his horse
492 fresh for the trip. If he had none, he might borrow, and no one
[427] would dare refuse. The compensation to the horse's owner was
half a load of salt, or one saddlebagfull. The saddlebags taken
[415] were the ancient netted receptacles of maguey fiber. Inside these
the salt was wrapped in handwoven cotton sheets or, in old days,
[223] fiber mats. Each pilgrim must make ropes of hair or of maguey
fiber, for a bridle and for hobbling his horse. He wore, in the old
days, only breech cloth and sandals. At his waist he carried two
[415] canteens, made of gourds, covered with rabbit skin, and slung
[482] in a grass net. He also carried a pouch of parched corn meal and
the small watertight basket which was his only utensil for eating
and drinking. Beside the corn meal, "ripe men" might carry as
much dried squash, tortillas, or any other food as they could
manage.

317 For all equipment there was a special vocabulary, analogous to
484 that used on the warpath. The horse was called the partner; the
192 gourd, the jar; the basket, the dish; pinole, gruel; hay, weeds; salt,
corn. For other common terms there were words showing a similar
slight variation. These words the neophyte must learn and not
misuse, under pain of accident on the journey.

317 Each village took prayer sticks in some form, to be offered to the
484 ocean. The following list will show the variety introduced under
782 the general heading prayer-stick offering:
184

Komarik: prayer sticks with two turkey or eagle feathers. Left at each camping place, and one thrown by each man into the sea.

Pisinimo: eagle down; no sticks. Each man brings his own down and throws it into the sea.

Anegam and Santa Rosa: peeled white sticks of western willow; no feathers. Carried by leader. One placed at every camp, and one given each man to throw in the sea.

Akchin: sticks with turkey or eagle feathers carried by leader, placed at each camp along the way and given men to carry into the sea and to bring back again. One large stick, with streamer of red cloth, planted on the beach.

San Miguel: strips of red cloth thrown into ocean.

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171 their privations. Others fall and cannot stand on their feet. Others have their mouths open, panting to eat and drink.

As for the other animals, O Lord, it is grievous to see them walking and falling down with weakness, licking the earth, their tongues hanging out, their gullets open, panting with hunger and thirst. . . .

It is grievous, O Lord, to see everywhere the surface of the earth dry and unable to produce either grass or tree or anything which may serve for nourishment.

317 The Aztec has no parallel to the vivid Papago description or the
484 desert and the hut. The phrases quoted, if they are indeed a heri-
x639 age from some Nahua prayer have undergone many permutations before inclusion in the salt ritual.

[184] Santa Rosa gives an abbreviated version of the same material.

SALT SPEECH IN CAMP

6. Thus was my desire.
Then hastily I ate the food which my wife had cooked;
Hastily I took my child in my arms.
"What is it?
What has he learned that he is acting thus?
The day has dawned when I must go."

Begin "throwing words."

Ready!
Then forth I stepped upon the west-lying road.
Utterly weary I was when evening fell.
Then I pushed together the remaining embers of my fire.
Beside them, with head bowed, I sat.
Within my pouch I thrust my hand
And brought forth my reed joint [cigarette].
I stood it up [in the fire, to light it];
I wet it.
Strongly I breathed out upon the west-lying road.
I asked of him, my guardian, many kinds of power.
I asked to be hunger enduring, thirst enduring, cold enduring.
I asked for swift-leaping legs,
Strong-grasping hands,
Keen eyes.
Four times the dawn poured over me

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The men walked into the sea, throwing corn meal on the approaching waves, as they were bidden. To these desert people the waves had a peculiar horror, and the mere facing them was considered an act of bravery. Men who seem to make no great matter of battle or starvation have recounted to the writer with deep pride how they walked in up to their necks. They have heard but vaguely of swimming, from the Seri and the Yuma. To them the ocean is the edge of the world, fraught with power and death.

The Akchin men retained the prayer sticks in their hands as a protection. After they had faced the fourth wave, they went back to the leader. They gave him the prayer sticks to be used on another occasion and dusted off any corn meal that had remained on their hands into his pouch. Then they left, walking behind their horses. Any visions which the ocean might vouchsafe would appear on the journey home or during the subsequent purification.

Santa Rosa and the other villages of the western route traveled two days after viewing the ocean, since they must go along the coast some distance before reaching salt. The place they used, called Salty Badger, was a bed a quarter of a mile long and half a mile from the gulf. On reaching it, the neophytes dismounted and Akchin planted a prayer stick. Then the neophytes ran four times around the salt bed, counterclockwise(1, 4, 5),[10] while the older men galloped around on their horses.

Then they began to break up the lumps of salt and spread them to dry on sheets or mats. As each man picked up his first lump, he made the motion of passing it over his body, saying: "Give me power. Let me safely reach my home."(4) Some addressed the salt bed: "We mean no harm. We have only come to gather salt."(5)

While the salt was drying, the neophytes went into the sea. In some villages each man had his prayer stick and corn meal; in some the leader provided it. One, San Miguel, threw into the sea only scraps of red cloth.

Pisinimo ran to the top of the first sand dunes, whence the waves could be seen, and there strewed corn meal, saying: "Be favorable to me. Be smooth. Let me run and see what I shall see." (1) When they reached the water, Pisinimo again gave an invocation: "Be

[10] Cf. Haicbol, Lumholtz, 1900, p. 19.

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favorable to me. Give me life. Let me be a runner; a shaman; a singer; a hunter."

All those who had their prayer sticks threw them into the sea. If, for some reason, a man was not acceptable to the supernatural, the waves would return the prayer stick. The most usual reasons for rejection were failure in sexual continence during the preparations for the journey or the fact that a man's wife might be menstruating. However, "the sea cleans the sticks." If a man persevered and threw in his offering four times, it would be accepted.

Sometimes a man himself was taken by the sea and engulfed like the prayer sticks. Speech No. 8 speaks of such an experience. No one attempted to rescue the drowning man, for he was being summoned by the supernatural. He might reappear after many years as a powerful shaman, or he might be turned into a bird or a fish.

Any object which a man saw while in the sea was a special gift to him from the supernatural. If he noticed a strand of seaweed, a shell, or a pebble, he sprinkled corn meal on the object, then took it home as a token, very powerful in cleansing salt pilgrims. A kind of seaweed known as "ocean foam" was particularly desired. Sometimes a man took hold of something which, when he found it in his hand, lost its beauty, and in that case he must put it back exactly where he found it, again sprinkling corn meal (5).

After their entry into the sea, the neophytes ran on the beach: a strenuous test of their powers. There was a headland some twenty miles from the salt bed, according to informants, and the men ran to this and back, not stopping except on the headland itself. Some men are reported to have perished from cold and exhaustion during this run, but all trained for it during their whole boyhood, for it was here that a magic experience was expected.

Everything that a man saw while running was an omen for his future career. One informant saw a flock of white cranes, which seemed to him to be men running. He followed them and was able to keep pace, and from this he knew that he would be a great runner. One saw the white cranes playing with a kickball, and knew that he would excel in this sport. One, exhausted from running,

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on them and their families a disease called yellow vomit. The writer has not identified this disease, but has found it frequently mentioned by old Spanish writers as a pest of the country. The Papago say: "It comes from the smell of the ocean or the smell of the Apache. The Whites don't know that: that's why they have it so much."(9)

The length of the period of seclusion varied. At Komarik it was one month the first time, then four days.(9) At Akchin, eight days the first time, then four.(6) At Pisinimo it was sixteen days, with a move nearer the house after every four.(1) At Anegam it was four days away from the house, with diet restrictions for four days after the return.(5)

In any case, after each four-day period the neophyte was bathed by his guardian in cool water. His face was not blacked as for purification after war, but otherwise he was under the same restrictions. He was not allowed to eat meat, salt, or grease. He must not look at the sun or go near the fire. For the first day and night, until after the public purification, he was allowed no fire at all. Afterward he could have a small one, but he must fan, not blow it.(6) Every four days the dishes he had used were thrown away, each being "killed" by making a hole in the bottom, and new ones were provided by the women of the family. The women cooked for him, but on a separate fire, or a separate part of the fire, where none of the family food had been cooked. He must use the scratching stick—according to some, the same which he had brought from the ocean, according to others, a new one every four days. His wife was under no restrictions.[12]

Neophytes generally made their first pilgrimage at sixteen or seventeen, and this experience placed them within the ranks of adults. The seclusion during purification was the time when the fathers of eligible girls often approached the parents of neophytes to offer their daughters.

[12] This pilgrimage has obvious likenesses to the simpler ones made by Zuni (Stevenson, 1901–2, pp. 354–360; Acoma (White, 1929–30, p. 139); Laguna (Parsons, 1923, p. 226); Cochiti (Goldfrank, p. 9); and Hopi (Beaglehole, "Notes on Hopi Economic Life," Yale University Publications in Anthropology, No. 15, pp. 52–55). It also has many points in common with the Huichol expedition to gather *hikuli or peyote* (Lumholtz, 1900, pp. 126–236 and 268–280).

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touch the feathers himself, since they were not yet purified and therefore dangerous, but he pointed with a stick to show in what order they should be pulled and laid down.

The killer stretched the eagle out on the ground and stood on its wings. First, under the guardian's direction, he pulled out the down feathers, which had special value as offerings to the supernatural and would become his own perquisite. He first took the down from under the right wing, then from the left, then from under the tail, from the back, and from inside the legs. That from under the tail, which is particularly soft, he tied to a stick, in the manner of a prayer stick. This he stuck upright in the ground beside him during the period of his seclusion, while the rest of the down was placed in a buckskin bag to await purification.

The next feathers to be plucked were the two top wing feathers, one from the right wing and one from the left. It was these top feathers, and no others, which were used as shaman's divining plumes. They had a special name, *mdtcuita'k* (that which finds out). They were the perquisite of the guardian, who, if he were not a shaman himself, might keep them for trade at a high price. The plume from the right wing was laid down first, with its tip to the east, then that from the left, crossing it, with tip to the south. After them the other plumes were plucked alternately from the two wings and laid down in regular order, so that a cross was formed with wing tips pointing north, east, south, and west.[2] Above the wing feathers the tail feathers were laid, continuing the cross formation. The feathers were then covered with a mat or buckskin weighted with stone, and the killer took his place beside them for his sixteen days of purification. Until this period of quarantine was over, no one but the guardian must approach him and no one at all must touch the feathers, on pain of illness.

The details of purification differed in different localities, as they did with enemy slayers and salt pilgrims. Some villages considered this contact with the supernatural so much less important than the others that they made the retreat only four days.(5) Others, like Kaka, used a graduated form of retreat in four periods of four days each.

[2] The usual Papago circuit is counterclockwise. The informant could give no reason for the change in this case.

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In the southern part of the reservation the dance lasted four nights(29); in the northern part, a whole month. It was given wherever the family happened to be, either in camp or in a permanent village. "We used to have good times in cactus camp," one informant said, "because somebody would be sure to reach puberty, and then we would dance all the time."(26)

The length of the time of dancing depended on the wealth of the girl's parents, since they must give a meal to the dancers every night. Poor people might omit the dance entirely, trusting to purification by the shaman to relieve the girl from danger. People who were well supplied sent word to neighboring villages and camps as soon as the girl's four-day seclusion was over, and crowds arrived every night to join in the gaiety.

There were several men in any village who knew the appropriate songs. These they might have dreamed during some period of purification, or they might have learned them from others. The position of song leader for this dance was a popular one, since the leader danced next to the maiden. He and other men dancers received no pay except a meal at midnight. Their enjoyment of the dance came from the license permitted. The young girl dancers received gifts from the maiden, "because they stayed up all night with her." If the dance lasted a month, she generally, when it ended, had disposed of all her clothes and ornaments except what she wore.

In this dance men and women stood side by side in two lines which faced each other. They placed their arms over each other's shoulders and pulled their blankets across in front of them to make an unbroken covering for the whole line. This was the only dance where such close contact was permitted.

At the end of one line danced the song leader, with the maiden at his left and the rattle in his right hand. His wife danced opposite. The lines walked back and forth toward each other singing, for there was no choir on this occasion. After each four songs they rested, though the girl herself was not supposed to sit down. Her family provided a nonintoxicating drink of cactus juice or some brew of berries and fruit. For the meal at midnight they might kill a deer or provide a stew of rabbits, beans, and corn.

If the dance lasted a month, more than one song leader had to

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GIRLS' PUBERTY DANCE

Beside the singing place
I lie down.
[Darkness] reverberates.

28. I know not what I do;
Here I am lying.
Now I leap up.
Circling, I sing.
I go about.
I leap up.
Circling, I sing.

881 The girls' puberty ceremony is no longer performed. Only the
343 oldest people remembered its details. Segregation huts, however,
184 are still used in some remote districts.
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FOREWORD

The American Papago are found on three reservations, a large one and two small ones, in the southern part of Arizona, near the Mexican border. To the south are the Mexican Papago who live in the same villages with Mexicans and have largely intermixed with them. To the north are the Gila Pima, another branch of the same people who have had much more contact with White Americans than have the Papago. To the west and south are the small groups of Sand Papago, still largely unknown.

American Papago, Mexican Papago and Pima were once part of a large corn raising culture which included the Opata, Tepecano, Tepehuane, and other Sonoran peoples now extinct. The nature of their culture has been a matter of great interest as a link between Mexico and the cultures of the Southwest. The Papago were chosen for study because, though they were not so advanced as their congeners, their position in the desert has left them far less subject to White influence. Their reservation was set apart only in 1917 and they still retain many customs and ceremonies abandoned both by Pima and by Mexican Papago.

Five sojourns were made with the Papago: in June — October 1931, September — October 1932, February — October 1933, November — January 1934, October — November 1935. Most of the time was spent on the Sells reservation, the largest of the three though a few weeks were spent at San Xavier and some days below the Mexican border.

Even among the American Papago it was found that there were decided differences in dialect, customs and ceremonies and an effort was made to get data from each of the three important groups. One of these was often completely ignorant of traditions known to the others, so that it was no uncommon experience to have an informant in one village deny with amusement the possibility of some practise which those in the next village acknowledged as traditional. Since there are over 5000 Papago it was possible to get many points of view and their presence makes one realize how many shadings are found in a living culture which are lost or even distorted in those where only one or two informants are available.

Interpreters were used through the whole period, since I did not trust my rough conversational knowledge of the language

[p.v]

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621 Their native government, as far as it persists is modelled on the Spanish colonial regime with a secular governor and a whipping [744] post to punish transgressors. They all profess Christianity, the majority Catholic but a fair number of Presbyterians. None of [177] the old ceremonies are now held but a few have been amalgamated with Catholic ceremonies to form a new ritual.

621 184 The Kokololoti and the Archie division are the two most completely at odds in traditions and customs and political splits are most likely to occur along their geographic lines. Among Tecalote people the maam and waaliw sibs predominate, but there are also many of that nondescript sib, the ókari who do not know their moiety and are accused of being no sib at all but a catchall for scattered people whose sib was lost.

Kokololoti Village Units

621 Kupk (Closed, referring to a dam)

This and the other villages of the dialect division occupy the broad Quijotoa Valley, known in Spanish accounts as the Llano, or plain. The Papago name for the area is komaki wihtco, (Under the Gray Mountain) which the Spaniards wrote El Comac. Kupk, the parent town, has shrunk and the prominant place is now taken by Pisinimo, whose name is said to come from the fact that a Bison head was once brought there. This would have meant importation from a great distance and the only possible agents are the Apache but the legend is vague.

Pisinimo has as daughters hahri mihitak (Burnt Squash) and Cheeweston (Long Pond), and Mulberry Pond or Santa Cruz. The Well for all four is Poso Blanco, while Kupk still uses San Antone.

Another recent offshoot of Kupk is Kavolik or Cowlic. This was originally not a field but a mesquite grove. Some families moved there from kupk and others from its relative, Tecalote. Another group of immigrants came direct from Mexico bringing with them Mexican ideas of government and housing. They wanted a plaza, with houses in regular rows [184] and the Mexicanized Catholic ceremonies so familiar in Sonora. They live together in a group and engineer the Easter ceremony which is unique among the Papagos but otherwise have not converted the village to their views. Kavorik has a daughter, Burro Pond, and a smaller one upat kihk, Acacia Stands, which uses a Well in the mountains south of Sells.

Tecalote

This village, near the border, is in the same broad north-and-south plain with Pisinimo. The plain extends south into Mexico where many of the wells are. In Spanish accounts it

2: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935)1939 NU28 Papago NU28

775 on its journey must pass through a gap, which was very dangerous.[1] His owl companions went through it easily but the newly dead had trouble. Some turned back at this point and found themselves alive again. Beyond the gap is the town where the dead live, just as people on earth do. If the newly dead mingles with them and speaks to them, he cannot come back. If he does not speak, he may still regain life. In the town he will find his ancestors who "bring him up like a child," teaching him all their ways. The life is like the life on earth, except that there is plenty of rain, for this is in the east, whence the rain comes.

The dead can leave this land at any time and fly back in a moment in the form of owls and they come thus to call the relatives whom they wish to have as companions. Warriors killed in the Apache country meet war parties and guide them through the enemy's land. Shamans come back and instruct living shamans.

755 If a person is being called by the dead, he may dream of them or
778 he may fall unconscious, his soul gone. He then applies to the shaman, but the shaman does not send his own soul on a search. He sharpens four sticks, paints them and puts them outside the grave to "shut the door." Or he smokes a ceremonial cigarette and asks the dead to come out. An owl may appear and then the shaman urges him to go away and leave the living alone. Meanwhile a group of helpers, some distance off, sings the song cycle which removes an evil charm.

551 The California objection to naming the dead appears among the Papagos in a modified form. In the northern part of the area, the
●184 names are freely used; (26, 19, 1) in the southern part they are not (9). The mention of the name would evoke the dead who would bring sickness on his kin. Therefore, the kin themselves would not do it, and if a mysterious sickness appeared among them, they would suspect that someone else had done it and be angry. A subsidiary reason given is that the name "makes them feel too bad" (9).

551 But it is only the relatives who would suffer. An informant once was prevented from singing me a song, where a specific name should be mentioned, because all the people whose names he had heard used in such songs were dead and if he used them, their relatives would be angry. Nor would he use the names of his own relatives. But the interpreter, who had abandoned the old customs, gave permission for the names of his ancestors to be used and then the informant had no fear.

If the name is not used, the dead is referred to by the kinship

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[1] Cozcpere, *Azteca, Sahagun, Seler*, pt. 6, sec. 4, p. 303.

3: Underhill E-5 (1931-1935) 1936
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The essential differentiation between Papago and Pima, which is now so obvious, began at this time. The Pima adopted American names and American clothing, and by 1871 had an American school. Meantime the Papago, when they spoke any language at all but their own, spoke Spanish, wore mantillas, and regarded the Altar Valley as their source of culture. More important still, the Pima gave up most of their ancient ceremonies while the Papago continued theirs.

Among the most important had been the ceremonies for war. The marauding Apache, in the hills to the east of Pimeria, had provided constant persecution since Kino's time, but in 1887 they were subdued by the United States, with the help of both Pima and Papago.

After this, scalps were no longer taken, and the important ceremonies of the warpath, of victory, and of warrior's purification were abandoned. But, until the present generation, the Papago continued their intervillage games with the accompanying dances, their cleansing ceremony for food, and their driving away of evil. Even yet, the northern part of the reservation ferments liquor from the giant cactus fruit and drinks it ritually as a magic to saturate the earth with rain. The shamans still practise, and the lay curers dream songs which give each one power over some particular disease sent by a particular animal. Other power can still be obtained, if not from scalps, then at least by the killing of an eagle or the ritual fetching of salt from the Gulf of California. Most of these ceremonies, as they occurred some fifty years ago, are described in the succeeding pages.

The writer made a series of ethnological studies among the Papago under the auspices of Columbia University, covering the periods June to October 1931, February to October 1933, November to January 1934, and October to November 1935, much of the work being financed by the Columbia University Council of the Social Sciences. During most of this time the narrator of the following autobiography, Maria Chona, acted as informant, hostess, guide, and means of introduction to the various villages, in most of which she had relatives or descendants.

Chona is a corruption of the Spanish name Encarnacion, with which the old woman had been baptized on a childhood trip to Mexico. She was the daughter of a prominent leader, José María, nicknamed Con Quien, the name of a Spanish card game. Since the words themselves would have little significance, the nickname has been translated hereafter as "The Gambler." Chona was inordinately proud of this father who had been appointed village chief or "governor" when the Papago first came under American supervision. The Papago custom in most ancient times had been to have a ceremonial leader who performed a few executive functions, but

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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was approved before allotment activities ceased in this area in 1912; otherwise the same confusion would have resulted among the Papago as is common on many reservations.[20] As it was, the proposed divisions started feuds and factions among the people.

These various and sporadic attempts to protect Papago land and resources against white encroachment and to establish Indian ownership after the white fashion covered a period of more than forty years. It then became apparent that such a haphazard system offered no protection to the main body of the tribe who lived outside the reserved areas. In 1917 a reservation was established to include most of the land now occupied by the tribe except "the Strip," which separated the northern third of the area from the southern part. In 1931 this land was purchased, and in 1938 an area to the southwest known as Menager's Tract was bought. These and several smaller additions brought the Reservation to its present size of 4,500 square miles. With all their lands thus formally designated as a reservation, the Papago acquired the rights, protection, and inconveniences with which most other Indians in the United States had long since been acquainted.

One of the usual features of reservation life—education for Indian children—was not new to the Papago. Since about 1890 there had been opportunities to go to non-Reservation boarding schools operated by the government and various church groups. A surprising number of adults on the Reservation today spent five or ten years in the Presbyterian mission school in Tucson or at a government Indian school in Phoenix, Arizona, Grand Junction, Colorado, Chilocco, Oklahoma, Carlisle, Pennsylvania, or Riverside, California. Since these students came largely from the southern and eastern districts of the Reservation, many of the people in these districts can speak English. The area is "progressive" in American ways and supplies many of the leaders of the tribe, who have some understanding of Western culture. The majority of these students came home and made a satisfactory adjustment, "returning to the blanket" in that they reintegrated themselves with the old culture, but also bringing back with them certain new values which are obvious today. This amalgamation of new and old makes the eastern and southern districts different from the western and central sections, where none of the older generation ever went away to school. With the establishment of the Agency at Sells in 1917, the first government day school was founded. This brought the problem of schools very close to home—often in the face of strong local opposition.

20. On the small San Xavier Reservation, for instance, most of the allotments are at present in heirship difficulties, and one individual's share runs as small as 1/250 of an acre (United States Bureau of Indian Affairs, *Program, Papago Reservations, Arizona*, p. 4).

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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VILLAGES AND DIALECT GROUPS

LEADERSHIP AND AUTHORITY IN THE VILLAGE

622 Authority in the village is vested in the chief or *kobanal* (from the Spanish *gobernador*) and his two assistants. According to custom—since there is no written law for village affairs—these offices are elective. In some villages the chief always comes from a certain family, but this is by no means universal. (In Topawa the man who was chief at the time of the field work for this study was not closely related to any of his three most recent predecessors.) The chief holds office until he wishes to retire or until the people become dissatisfied with him.

The chief seems to function as judge, mayor, and sheriff combined. He is called on to settle personal disputes over family problems, division of lands, disagreements over water, damages done by straying cattle, and all the miscellaneous problems that arise wherever people live together.

623 In his nonjudicial capacity, the chief is the head of the village council, composed of all the men of the village. In the old days they met every evening in the village "round house,"[2] but nowadays meetings are less frequent and regular. Here all the village problems are discussed: lands are assigned for farm use; stock-owners air their problems, and the doings of the Agency are talked over. Everyone has his say if it takes all night. In the old days unanimity of opinion had to precede a decision, for the concept of majority rule was not known to the Papago. Nowadays, there is not always unanimity for the simple reason that there is not time. A government proposal may have to be accepted or rejected, and white men call for prompt action.

623 561 The analogy to the patterns of authority in the household is striking. The principle of seniority prevails, and men under twenty-five ordinarily do not say much in council meeting. Some young men nowadays attempt to speak out before they have had enough experience to know much (according to Papago standards); but, even if their ideas are good ones, they gain scant consideration. It is the elders who do most of the talking. The chief is in somewhat the same position as the family head; his decisions are final, but he is obligated to consult all the others, to find out "what people think about it."

● 184 622 The situation described in the foregoing paragraphs prevails in most parts of the Reservation. The people of the western villages, however, say that their chiefs exist only in the imaginations of white people, and it is true that they have no elected officials or formal council meetings. Yet in every western village except Hickiwan, there is an old man who by the force of his personality has attained the leadership of his community. (In Hickiwan a relatively

2. An old-style round building thatched with grass. In some villages the house is now a rectangular adobe building.

[344]

[text continues on p. 65—Analyst]

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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young man, one of the district councilmen, is regarded as chief by the Agency but not by his own people.) Though no regular council meetings are held in these villages, the men meet informally to discuss problems when they arise. It is probably significant that all the three "strong men" of Hickiwan District are medicine men, but how much of their strength is due to fear of their supernatural power is a matter for speculation.

Papago who have disputes to be settled have considerable leeway in bringing their complaints before authority. If a man wishes, he can take his case direct to the tribal court (see chap. vii) rather than to the village chief; or the district councilman, who in some cases is a man of great influence, may be called on for a decision. In one case known to the writer the defendant was not satisfied with the tribal court's decision and so brought the matter to the village chief, then through the district councilman back to the tribal court. There were apparently no negative sanctions in the village against this procedure; a man is free to take his legal problems where he pleases.

However, in all the western villages disagreements are settled locally, and there is no recourse to the tribal council or court. Local quarrels may be noised about the district but not far beyond, as controversies are concealed or glossed over before outsiders. Owing to recent unhappy experiences (see chap. vii), the Reservation police thereafter refused to go to Hickiwan District. The people are well content with this situation, for they are determined to keep the management of their affairs in their own hands.

Throughout the Reservation, matters which require local co-operation and leadership are handled without friction. Leaders, elected or otherwise, are respected by the people because of their position. Their decisions and those of the council are accepted when the people feel that such decisions are based on a thorough knowledge of the recognized way of doing things and are made after discussion and expression of "what all the people think." Papago know that they are free to express disagreement, but usually would rather accept a decision with which they are not entirely in accord than to stand out from the crowd and make "people talk."

INTERVILLAGE RELATIONSHIPS

Some present-day Papago villages are in the same locations as they were in Kino's time, and others are offshoots of these old villages, probably dating from the cessation of pressure from the Apache. Ties between the parent-village and those formed from it remain close. People visit back and forth, they co-operate in roundups, and they are sure to attend one another's fiestas, but the degree of interaction is determined by blood ties and proximity.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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789 273 is ceremonially served to each adult in a prescribed order. When it is all consumed, families who have their own ollas invite their friends to join them and all reach a stage of mild intoxication. Many fall asleep. Sooner or later the rain comes—many individuals tell of having been caught in a heavy rain on the way home from a ceremony.

[184] The wine ceremonies are still general over the Reservation, with the exception of the two conservative western districts, where the custom lapsed twenty years ago. This apparent paradox may result from the fact that most of the present western villages were settled within the last two decades from mountain villages which no longer exist. Perhaps the old ceremonies disappeared with these villages.[1] Or perhaps they were discontinued during the quarrels over cattle and white administrative policy that divided the westerners for years. However, in the area around Gu Achi many old ceremonies are said to flourish.

The persistence of the wine ceremony in most parts of the Reservation shows its importance to the majority of the Papago today. Only the Presbyterians refuse to attend. Probably their overt expression would be that "those people over there" believe in such things but good Presbyterians do not; but what many of them really feel may be something different. Their profession of disapproval is a source of sorrow to the believers, but it does not, they feel, lessen the efficacy of the ceremony.

It should be noted that drunkenness is not the objective of the wine ceremony. It is a means to an end—to bring the longed-for rain that will make the fields green and bring food to the Desert People. The Papago feel that the wine brings happiness and song; it is a symbol of the renewal of life with the coming of rain and it is a purification of the mind and heart. The ceremony has a social function of erasing the evil and ill feeling of the past year. The speeches that precede the serving of the wine deal with proper behavior, stressing the old Papago virtues, peacefulness and harmony. It is these things which the ceremonial drunkenness is meant to bring.

733 Of late years other forms of drinking have increased tremendously over the Reservation. At the fiestas there is a good deal of drunkenness which sometimes leads to violence, and there is much drinking which is unconnected with any ceremony. The Papago themselves see the problem and are greatly concerned about it. Women and particularly children are afraid of drunkards and are deeply distressed when the men begin heavy and continuous drinking (see chap. xiv). The women do not mind the drinking itself; what troubles them is that it is done in the wrong spirit. Drinking should bring happiness

1. At one of the modern Hickiwan villages a round house was built about 1941 and wine is made each year, but there is no accompanying ceremony.

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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666 642 dialect group. The people insisted that tribal law and custom should be the basis of the constitution. Some of the provisions based on white concepts, such as fenced districts, met with great opposition, but the constitution was finally ratified in 1936 by more than two to one, in an election in which about a third of those entitled to vote did so.

642 The constitution divided the main Reservation into nine districts, the small reservations at San Xavier and Gila Bend constituted two additional districts. Each of these districts was empowered to elect a council to provide local self-government; each district council in turn was to send two delegates to the tribal council, who should continue in office for two years or until recalled and replaced by the district council. District councils were formed shortly after the constitution was ratified, and the tribal council was set up soon after. It has functioned regularly ever since.

THE TRIBAL COUNCIL

646 642 The constitution provided that the welfare of the tribe as a whole should be in part the responsibility of the tribal council and that it should carry full responsibility for tribal business enterprises discussed in chapter iii: arts and crafts, the tribal fair and rodeo, loans, and the tribal herd. The tribe through its council has full rights of defining membership, administering tribal law with regard to members of the tribe, levying taxes, and handling its own monies. In all other spheres the superintendent of the Reservation has final authority, but conscientious efforts are made to introduce no program which has not been thoroughly discussed and agreed upon by the council. The majority of matters discussed in council meetings are brought up at the suggestion of the superintendent, but members know that their recommendations, objections, or suggestions will be carefully considered. If they defeat an Agency proposal, it may be brought up for further discussion at a later time, but their approval is essential to the success of any program.

As with any representative body, much of the value of the council's work depends upon the support of the general public. The system set up by the Papago constitution is actually a structure of white concepts of majority rule and representative government superimposed upon the old system of unanimous agreement in village councils. It will take time for the people to learn to manipulate this new political tool.

646 642 184 Generally speaking, it is the men from the eastern districts who are active in tribal politics; many of them have learned white concepts of government in boarding school. It is obvious that leadership remains in the hands of a few, though a quorum is always present at council meetings, and all members listen carefully

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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to the discussions. The people as a whole have taken little part, and there are no sanctions to reinforce the status of delegates from many of the districts. So long as there is a leader who is vitally interested in having his district represented in the tribal council, the district organization remains alive; but, if the leader loses interest or leaves, it falls apart. There is no popular demand for representation in the council. The people do not have regular district meetings, and they delay elections long past the time specified in the constitution. All this is an indication of a political system in its infancy which is not yet an integral part of the life of the people.

Popular interest and organization have lagged particularly in the western districts. In Hickiwan there have been "progressive" men who were interested in tribal organization ever since the days of the Good Government League, but there was always fierce opposition from the conservative element, which rejected white institutions lock, stock, and barrel. The deadlock between the two factions continued for many years, and the bad feeling was augmented by a cattle feud between the leaders of the opposing parties. In the thirties a compromise was reached, whereby the two groups were separated in different villages. Between 1940 and 1943 two of the conservatives served sentences in federal prisons for assault with deadly weapons on Indian police, and three for refusal to comply with the Selective Service Act. With the removal of these men, opposition to Agency proposals and to the tribal council diminished; nevertheless, the Hickiwan delegates to the council who were elected at that time showed little interest in active organization of the district, and its participation in tribal matters was negligible. Gu Vo, the other western district, had no representatives at the council meetings for two years preceding the present study.

Despite all these handicaps, the council has to its credit a number of real achievements. The tribal herd has helped to improve Reservation cattle, and the various other tribal enterprises have been successful. The method of financing these projects—a 3 per cent tax on all livestock sales by private owners—met with strong opposition at first, but the council's resolute stand on the matter indicates that the members are beginning to feel their responsibilities and that they may become a real power on the Reservation. Recent council activity in planning for the adjustment of returned soldiers and postwar economic developments points in the same direction. Much will depend on the quality of leadership: if the council continues constructive and forceful action instead of degenerating into a group of Agency "yes-men," the tribe may unite in backing up the council. Much will depend too on the policy of future superintendents. The Papago are independent, and they do not like to

4: Joseph et al D, E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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153 In times of relaxation, of prayer for or rejoicing over good harvests and rain, vagrancy of thought going out into daydreams or songs is apparently not only
184 permissible but respected as being close to nature and its spirit. Western Papago who are able to solve complex formal and organizational problems perform such tasks through mental activity which seems to lie outside that normally required for their daily life.

153 The eastern Papago communities, on the other hand, have been for a long time exposed to outside influences. In the old days Apache raids were com-
184 paratively frequent and demanded constant watchfulness and readiness for
177 defense. There are now other elements that influence the eastern way of life: two Catholic missions and schools, one Presbyterian mission and school, one government school, and, only ten to twenty miles away from the several communities, the Reservation headquarters, which is also the seat of the tribal council and court. Mexico, "just across the mountains," is frequently visited. Thus, life in this area has certain more complex and formal aspects, the mastery of which stimulate mental activity beyond the simplicity of the West, into the direction of greater intellectual alertness and greater ability to differentiate and to organize complex tasks.

153 Making a decision as to the actual effects of these factors on the I.Q. of Papago children seems obviously impossible, particularly if it is to be based on the results of one test. However, the other intelligence test used in the research, the Goodenough Draw-a-Man, has given findings which to a degree support the considerations discussed above. According to this test, the average I.Q. of Eastern Papago children is 108.5, that of the western Papago 103.6 (see Table 3). The average I.Q. achieved by the Papago children of both areas on the Goodenough test is higher than that obtained by white children on whom the test was standardized (100.0) and by a group of white children from a midwestern town (101.2).

151 The mental capacities taken into account for the calculation of an I.Q. in
153 the Goodenough Draw-a-Man Test are apparently different from those playing a role in the Grace Arthur test. The old fame of Indians as scouts—a fame which has repeatedly been confirmed in the recent war—indicates alertness and attention to significant details, the chief traits scored in the Goodenough test.

The following incident may illustrate the nature and degree of Papago children's gift for observation. One of the Reservation field nurses took a group of small Papago children for a few hours to the Agency seat for medical examinations. Some time later a teacher asked the children to draw pictures of the hospital. Almost all showed certain details which appeared to the teacher

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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157 177 those persons whom they believe to be representative models of their culture and those whom they consider atypical.[1]

REGIONAL DIFFERENCES IN ACCULTURATION

177 184 In a group spread thinly over so large an area as the Papago Reservation, white influence will vary greatly. Some of the test findings from western and eastern Papago children show that the pressure upon Papago society differs in extent and direction in different districts.

In the West it has been limited largely to economic factors, combined with casual influences to which the Papago visitor or temporary laborer in town is subjected or which he may easily observe; these influences are relatively free from elements of planned and direct indoctrination. Western Papago, who are mostly Sonora Catholics, have infrequent contacts with the Roman Catholic or Presbyterian clergy. Their children usually attend school intermittently. The government Agency is over fifty miles away, and relations with officials have been comparatively tenuous.

In the East, on the other hand, alien economic elements, missions, schools, and government operate with considerable strength. Here the direct influence of indoctrination upon Papago ways of life is more intense, more systematically planned, and much more constant than in the West.

157 177 184 One of the tests in the present study—the Free Drawings—was used to determine how far material attributes of white culture have taken root in the minds of Papago children.[2] If the appearance in the children's drawings of items from white civilization, such as airplanes, automobiles, and school buildings, were adopted as an index of over-all adjustment to white culture, the conclusion would be that western Papago children are not only more acculturated than those of the eastern districts but also the most acculturated of all the Indian children tested in this project. In the light of facts easily observable as to actual conditions of life in eastern and western Papago areas and in various other tribes studied, such a conclusion cannot possibly stand. However, integrated with findings from other tests, the psychological significance of the Free Drawings is convincingly clear and comprehensible.

It will be recalled that the western Papago children showed in their other tests emotional experiences, concepts of right and wrong, and basic reaction

1. One Papago in a sardonic mood remarked that a good deal of time and money have been spent in explaining the Papago to the whites. What is needed, he said, is some effort to explain the whites and their ways of thought to the Papago, for to most of them white manners, customs, and ways of thinking are a closed book.

2. See Brooke Mordy, "Content Analysis of Indian Children's Drawings: A Method for Comparing Culture and Degree of Material Acculturation" (MS).

4: Joseph et al D,E-5 (1942-1943) 1949
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patterns which corresponded closely to the conditions of life and general attitudes observable in their communities. Their only conspicuous symptom of a trend toward acculturation lay in responses indicating the relatively great importance of property and money. The reader will also recall from the other tests that it was the boys of the western communities who placed the heavy emphasis on the value of money and property. The Free Drawings of the western boys included many more white items than did those of eastern boys. At the same time, however, western children also drew more specifically native items than the eastern children (see Table 19).

All these findings suggest that the western area, though conserving the social organization and cultural values of the old Papago pattern, has been caught by

TABLE 19

TYPES OF ITEMS SHOWN IN FREE DRAWINGS BY PAPAGO CHILDREN OF TWO AREAS (PERCENTAGE DISTRIBUTION)*

	Western Papago			Eastern Papago		
Types of Items	Boys	Girls	Total Group	Boys	Girls	Total Group
Recent white derivatives	49	35	42	22	25	23
Early white derivatives†	5	8	7	9	7	8
Native	16	21	19	11	15	13
Landscapes	30	36	32	58	53	55

* Data from Brooke Mardy, "Content Analysis of Indian Children's Drawings: A Method for Comparing Culture and Degree of Material Acculturation" (MS).

† These are items derived from the Spaniards, such as domestic animals, which have been a part of Papago life for so long that they are thought of as Papago.

and is responding freely to the economic and purely material advantages of white American culture. New economic experiences have not yet essentially changed the western Papago's pattern of living. Work in the Ajo mine, the principal form of wage work known to the western area, has always been intermittent. If the worker does not take his family with him to Ajo, they carry on their normal life at home, just as the worker himself does between jobs in the mine. The other source of wages—work in the cotton fields—has only recently become important in Papago economy, and it allows a close replica of the old Papago pattern: family labor, co-operation, and the sharing of experience.

But, though the new economic experiences have not yet altered the basic life-patterns of the western area, they may have disruptive effects. It is the men who work in the mines; and in the cotton fields wages are customarily paid to the male head of the family for work done by all its members. These facts, together with the boys' realization that they will be the chief earners, keepers, and spenders of the family income (apparent from the importance they attach

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to it), threaten to reallocate the roles, the relative independence, and the authority of the sexes to the disadvantage of the women. Another potentially harmful aspect of cash wages is their easy convertability into liquor. The concern of western Papago children (particularly girls) over drunkenness, which is greater than that of eastern children (and indeed considerably greater than that of any other Indian children or of midwestern white children), indicates the western Papago's awareness of this problem and confirms reports and observations of excessive drinking in their districts.

Eastern children are different in some respects. In their Free Drawings the eastern children—boys and girls alike—show fewer native items than the western children, as well as fewer objects from white culture. Both sexes prefer to depict landscapes, which, being noncultural in character, do not involve commitments to either the Papago or the white way of life.

Reviewing briefly the results of the other tests, the eastern children, in comparison with those from the West, show: (1) fewer associations of family members with emotional experiences and discipline, and the attachment of more importance in these respects to nonrelatives, particularly age mates; (2) less emphasis on the parent as disciplinarian for boys and on the father's disciplinary role for girls; (3) a lower moral evaluation of family co-operation and work; (4) more frequent mention of experiences and attitudes connected with personal achievement and with aggression; and (5) with regard to the basic reaction pattern, less tendency to interpret reality subjectively, without reduction of the trend toward withdrawal, which is beginning to appear as an established introversion instead of an intermittent reaction.

These combined findings suggest that eastern children, who are more influenced by white American culture than the western Papago, are undergoing a psychological acculturation which is correspondingly deeper and more extensive. It is obvious that the findings reflect the influences of white culture and are not due to primarily intratribal differences between the western and eastern areas, for the decrease of values which (according to anthropological evidence) are elements of the aboriginal Papago culture is accompanied by an increase in concepts clearly belonging to white American culture. A good job, schoolteachers, missions, going to heaven or hell—all are such concepts of unequivocal significance. Thus the comparatively little attention given in eastern children's drawings to objects of white material culture is not indicative of a low degree of acculturation but a sign that in the East the weight of importance and interest is no longer laid primarily on material aspects of the new culture.

Though the eastern acculturation pattern is so much more complex, it does

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not show the incongruities of the western, which clearly point to certain potential personality disturbances. Disintegration of Papago *culture*, numerous signs of which appeared in the test results of the eastern communities, is not necessarily accompanied by *personality* disintegration, if the old values have been supplanted by new ones which produce security. The tests suggest that a new set of values grouped around the principles and the institutions of the two missionary churches, and, to a lesser degree, of the school, is being assimilated by the eastern children—in short, that a fast-developing economic acculturation is about to be balanced by a growing spiritual acculturation.

THE PAPAGO AND THE FUTURE

This situation augurs well for the future adjustment of the Papago. Such optimism, though it must remain guarded, is strengthened by the attitudes of eastern adult Papago toward the alien culture and by certain sociopsychological considerations.

Papago adults increasingly accept the values of personal achievement and personal property. They show more and more interest in matters of school education and of tribal (in addition to village) organization; they participate eagerly in the ritual and accept the moral laws promulgated by the two missionary groups.

What are the reasons for this ready acceptance of alien principles, which distinguishes the Papago from many other Indian tribes and gives promise of their increasing adjustment to American ways of life?

In the first place, the Papago do not have in their history a tradition of hostilities with white people. They have no equivalent of the Navaho imprisonment at Fort Sumner or the massacre of the Sioux at Wounded Knee. Their contacts with whites in the historic past were short-lived and friendly. Father Kino and the other early Spanish missionaries came to the desert like guests who stayed only a short time and left hope for the afterlife, precious gifts, and a memory of kindness. Apparently, the few institutions introduced in the name of the Spanish crown were only halfheartedly maintained by the infrequent visits of officials. Later, under the regime of the United States, the desert still protected the Papago from too great pressure and molestation by whites. Papago and whites sometimes united in common defense against the raiding Apache. The establishment of the Reservation and with it permanent direct contacts with white people occurred so late that the Papago escaped the drastic pressures of the early period of Indian Bureau administration, with its compulsory segregation of Indian children in boarding schools, its dissipation of tribal resources through the allotment policy, and its general disregard for the

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940 1942
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PREFACE

Scattered data on the early agriculture and other aspects of the economic life of various Indian groups in the Southwest are available in the literature, but treatises covering the primitive basis of subsistence of specific Indian groups, such as Hill's *The Agricultural and Hunting Methods of the Navaho Indians* and Whiting's *Ethnobotany of the Hopi*, are rare. Wilson's *Agriculture of the Hidatsa Indians*, a Plains tribe, must be regarded as the best account of the technique of Indian agriculture yet published. It is our purpose, therefore, to issue within the next few years a series of comprehensive studies, of which this is the first, presenting the early basis of subsistence of the several Indian groups in the Southwest, with special emphasis placed on agriculture.

The material herein presented is based upon field studies made by the authors among the Pima-Papago in the fall of 1938, 1939 and 1940, supplemented by data gleaned from the relevant historical, ethnographical and archaeological literature. The field studies were made among the Pima on the Gila River Indian Reservation, centering at Sacaton, Arizona; the Papago on the Papago Indian Reservation with headquarters at Sells, Arizona; the Papago on the reservation at San Xavier; and a few Papago on the so-called Maricopa Indian Reservation at Maricopa, Arizona.

The method followed in doing the field work was for the authors to work independently, each with his own informants and interpreters, then compare notes at the end of each day.

Obviously, differences in agricultural technique exist in different parts of the Papago and Pima territories. There is always danger of over-formulating procedures, such as the method of planting, and the reader is cautioned against regarding any such operation or aspect of agriculture as stereotyped. It is realized that among both peoples sub-units

5: Castetter & Bell N-5 (1938-1940) 1942
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exist and that among different villages, and even different individuals, variations occur. The following account of Pima and Papago agriculture and of the general basis of subsistence of these people represents a composite picture drawn from a number of informants variable in background, technical knowledge, ability to impart what they knew etc., and no one of whom would be capable of presenting all the ethnographic information herein contained. A deliberate effort has been made to present as complete a picture as possible of the early basis of Piman subsistence, indicating local or individual departures from the general situation wherever these appeared to be significant or were consistent with the limitations imposed by space.

Fortunately the Pimans, particularly the Papago, are a people among whom primitive methods of agricultural technique and of food gathering are still functional and therefore recoverable. Thus it was not difficult to find old informants, especially Papagos, whose knowledge of the old crops, techniques and procedures is extensive.

Following is a list of our main informants and interpreters. Although we have interviewed many additional Pima and Papago informants to obtain data on specific aspects of agriculture, it has not been deemed necessary to list them.

Papago Informants:

Chico Bailey—Pisinémo
Alvina Gerónimo—Big Fields
Ismilio Lewis—Emika
José Petero—Silnakya
Bernabé López—San Pedro
San Pablo—Santa Rosa
Santiago Maristo—Komelik
Mattías Hendricks—Vamori
Mariano Domingo—Kohatk
José Santos—San Xavier

Pima Informants:

Manuel Lowe—near Sacaton
Nicolas John—Sweetwater
Lewis Nelson—Casa Blanca
Yanico—near Sacaton
Paul Azule—near Sacaton

Papago Interpreters:

Peter Blaine—Sells
Martín Maristo—Topawa
Joe Raphael—San Xavier
Ralph Gonzales—San Xavier
Rev. Bonaventura Oblasser also kindly assisted in interpreting and as a medium of contact.

Pima Interpreters:

Paul Azule—near Sacaton
Leonard Lowe—near Sacaton
Isaac Paul—Sweetwater

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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nicer disposition than Pedro, in an emergency I think I should rather trust myself to the brutal sagacity of the latter.

Judging from these two and from a third one, Agustin, that I knew, the sand people were not a pleasant lot to deal with. They were rapacious and probably merciless to strangers, whether Indians or Mexicans. Agustin was a distant, disagreeable kind of a man, whose confidence it would take years to win. According to Mexican accounts, the areneños formerly made the roads dangerous to pass, and nobody could follow them into the sand dunes to their principal retreat at Pinacate.

These Papagoes were called Híatit Óotam, "sand people." According to my companion, the medicine-man Pancho, who spent his early life in the dunes, they were not many in number and used to travel all together. He asserted that a peculiar disease accompanied by the vomiting of "yellow and green and then blood" killed most of those natives, and thought that it was brought from Yuma. The course of the disease took from four to ten days. It probably is the same affliction that is mentioned on the Papago calendar stick (page 74) as having occurred in 1851. The remaining four families decided to retire to other parts and for the last forty or fifty years the sand dune country has been uninhabited. These natives probably never exceeded in number one hundred and fifty all told, and their head-quarters were at *Hótunikat* (sunset), south of Pinacate. The great annual feast, now given at Quitovac, was removed from the Pinacate region before my informant's time—thus at least over

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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184 796 seventy years ago—because the old men who had charge of the ceremonial objects of the feast had died, and it was decided that the latter should be taken care of at Quitovac.

184 221 [197] 224 [312] These sand people were intelligent, healthy, and able-bodied, and managed to make a good living in an absolute desert. Their existence depended upon the knowledge of the few places in the mountain ranges, not even one in each range, where rain fills the tinajas, as well as of the few places along the coast where water can be found by digging for it. Once where to look for water is known, the difficulties in making a living out there are not so great as one would expect. In hot weather they followed jack-rabbits in the loose sand until the latter were exhausted, and caught muskrats by burning the accumulations of cactus spines with which those animals keep enemies away from their burrows. They also killed mountain-sheep, which were not a difficult quarry, with their bows and arrows, especially in the large craters, and they were even able to approach mule-deer and antelope near enough to kill them by the same weapon. Lizards were eaten. At certain seasons they went to the coast for the fishing, catching as many fish as they wished.

184 241 A single agricultural site may be attributed to the sand people, called Súvuk, south-east of Tinajas de Emilia, in Pinacate. Maize, squashes, and beans were planted here by means of a stick, on a very small scale, but the majority of these people had no agriculture whatever. 184 222 They found good edible plant food in the dunes, especially *ammobroma sonoræ*, the wonderful camotes

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910) 1912
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which the Indians knew how to gather all the year round, 184 222
though after May that part of the plant which is above ground withers away. They had their season of chia and used to come as far as Quitovaquita and Santo Domingo to gather mezquite beans (called by the Mexicans *pechita*) and eat sahuaro and pitahaya. Near all the tinajas are seen round holes from six to ten inches deep, made into the solid rock, in which these Indians pounded mezquite beans. [252 412] Their pestles are frequently found. The beans of the palo fierro were toasted, ground, and consumed as pinole. After the scanty winter rains the juicy plant of the sand-dunes, *œnothera trichocalyx*, was boiled and eaten.

The clothing of these people was made from the skin 184 of mule-deer, antelope, or mountain-sheep. The hair was 281 first removed with a bone taken from the lower foreleg of the animal, and the skin was smeared with the brains. The root of the torote tree, crushed and left in water, furnished necessary material for the tanning process. [291] The man wore shirt and breech cloth, the woman a short skirt. They killed sea lions on the rocks by hitting them on the nose, and from their skins sandals and straps were cut. From the badger's hair they were able to plait [301 331] ribbons for the hair and make twine to be used for the breech cloth. Women wore sandals, but no hair ribbons. The skirt was kept up by strings of buckskin.

The burden basket was not used, but they made carry- 184 285 ing nets as well as pottery, material for which is abundant 482 on the coast. Baskets were manufactured from torote, willow, and bulrushes. In order to make bows, these 184 Indians travelled as far as the Colorado River to get 411

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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184 411 willow as material. Arrows were made from the arrow-bush. Arrow-points of hard stone have occasionally been found in that country, but never stone axes.

184 [526] They had foot-races and also practised the game of throwing with the end of a thin pole two short pieces of wood which are linked together. (Page 89.) In the 184 221 winter time they lived at a higher elevation in the mountains where they erected grass huts. Once a year a journey [439] was made to Yuma to barter with the Indians there, and maize, tépari beans, and squashes were exchanged for baskets and sea-shells. Remnants of these people are 184 361 living at Quitovaquita and the Growler Well, both places in Arizona. A few families are said to live near the railway station, Adonde, near Wellton, on the Southern Pacific line.

[pp. 333 to 343 not processed]

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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553 tages which the child gains are supposed to be health,
261 strength, and luck; untoward happenings are also pre-
[777] vented even to the family itself. If the birth occurred in the season of thunder-storms, the danger to the child, or a near relative, of being killed by lightning will be
553 averted. For four days after the ceremony the parents abstain from eating salt and jack-rabbit meat, and they must not do much work; the father cannot hunt.

837 The natural characteristic of the Papago is to be vir-
684 tuous. According to Indian reports, a woman caught in adultery used to be punished with death. In recent times whipping has been the penalty and the custom of killing
• 184 her animals still prevails. The tribe has been notably stable in racial qualities during centuries of contact with whites. Intermixture to-day rarely takes place except in Sonora, where the Mexicans have taught the Indians new customs. In the out-of-the-way places of southern Arizona a few Americans are known to have Papago wives; they have children and to all appearances are known to lead happy lives, for the lady of the house is intelligent, quite good-looking, clean, and very industrious. During my stay at Sonoita several couples came to be married by the civil authority there.

682 Murder was left to the family of the murdered person to punish. From an American who speaks their lan-
838 guage and lives in the central part of the Papagueria, I received what I must accept as reliable information with regard to unnatural vice, which perhaps may be more or less restricted to that locality. Several startling instances were told me by him and also by a trustworthy Indian

7: Lumholtz N-5 (1909-1910)1912
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631 III. *Tótokvan.* ("Those who wear loose breech cloths." *Tókvan*, something loose. The designation alludes to the habit of the people of this section of using long or loose loin cloths or breech cloths, different from those worn by the other groups. They are at present more frequently called by the nickname *kíkima*, smart ones.) This section comprises most of the Santa Rosa valley, the Comobabi range, and extends east as far as San Xavier, which place was settled mainly by people from Santa Rosa. This is, roughly speaking, the north-eastern part of the Papagueria.

IV. *Kokeloroti* (Indian rendering of the Mexican *Tecoloteros;* from *tecolote*, owl). Their original name is *Tjukutkokam Kíkam*, "owl's cry inhabitants." *Tjúkutko*, owl's cry; *tjúkut*, owl, and *ko*, cry; *kikam*, inhabitant, derived from *ki*, house. These people are said to have started originally from the rancheria Tecolote, in Papago Tjúkutko, and extend from Indian Oasis southward, comprising such rancherias as Fresnal, Kóxikux, Tecolote, Sépanovak, and Pozo Verde. This section is approximately the south-eastern part of the Arizona Papagueria, and, according to the information of a Papago otherwise trustworthy, also includes the Mexican Papagoes.

771 773 Although the Papago, as we have seen, have elaborate dancing festivals, their religion is not regulated by exterior observances to such an extent as is the case with many other Indian tribes, as, for instance, that of the Pueblo Indians, or of the Huichols of Mexico, whose whole life is ruled by ceremonies and symbols. Many

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
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361 9. *Anegam*, of the upper Santa Rosa and tributary valleys, is the new
621 site of the village Omik-vaxia (Salt Well). The latter was located on "the strip" withheld from the reservation in 1917. The Indians were at that time forced to move their village. With the inclusion of "the strip" into the reservation, some return movement may be expected. Copperosity (Chuopo) was the reserve village. Kukomalik was also settled by these people. Anegam is now one of the largest of all the villages.

10. *Quajote*, on the plain between the Slate and Vekol Mountains, with its reserve village, Bitter Wells, is parent to the villages northward, toward Casa Grande. Some of these people settled at Santan on the Gila River and on the Salt River, and are living among the Pima.

11. *Komalik* is the old Baboquivera Valley village. Its ancient reserve village was Comobabi, Sonora, but nearer reserve villages developed along the Baboquivera Range, the most important of which was Fresnal. They no longer trek to Comobabi, and this village together with Cobabi and the neighboring communities of the piedmont and valleys on the east side of the Sierra de Cobota, Sonora, although of independent origin, have, by virtue of geographical unity, propinquity, and the international boundary, become a distinct unit in Sonora.

221 12. The *Sand Papagos* have been the most nomadic of the Papago
361 tribes. They occupy the truly arid region west of the Ajo Mountains.
621 Rainfall diminishes toward the Gulf of California, where it averages as
[32] little as two and one-half inches a year.[6] The reservation does not extend
184 beyond the Ajo Mountains, and there is no need for it, as the region is and must remain virtually uninhabited by whites except for the former copper mining camp at Ajo. The existence of these people depended upon their knowledge of the places in mountains where there are natural water tanks, such as Tinas Altas,[7] the Tule Tanks, and the Papago Tanks. The latter is a small oasis with an abundance of shade, grass, and a little ribbon of flat fertile valley.[8] For food the Sand Papagos ran down jack rabbits in the loose sand, killed mountain sheep, mule deer, and antelope with bows and arrows, and caught muskrats. They ate lizards, and at certain seasons went to the coast to fish and to obtain salt. Only a single agricultural site has been attributed to these people, southeast of Tinajas de Emilia in Pini-

[6] Godfrey Sykes, Rainfall Investigations in Arizona and Sonora by means of Long Period Rain Gauges (Geographical Review, April, 1931, pp. 229–33).

[7] Kirk Bryan, The Papago Country, Arizona: Geologic, and Hydrologic Reconnaissance with a Guide to Desert Watering Places (U. S. Geological Survey, Water Supply Paper 499, Washington, pp. 132–34).

[8] W. T. Hornaday, Camp Fires on Desert and Lava (New York, 1909), pp. 181–82, 235.

11: Hoover U-4, 5 (ca. 1930) 1935
NU28 Papago NU28
Sand Papago

cate. Their vegetable food was largely the camote, an edible root found in the sand dunes, together with the beans of the mesquite and the fruit of the saguaro and pitahaya cacti, for which they came as far as Quitoboquito and the lower Sonoita River.[9] A few of them even now have temporary camps, as of old, south to the Gulf.[10]

Quitovac, the old head village for the Sonoita Valley, is Sand Papago in kinship. Descendant therefrom was the Papago village at Sonoita and the now extinct village of Tak and the nearly extinct village, Quitoboquito. Sonoita was an attractive and favored site, as the Sonoita River is here a permanent stream. The present village is composed mostly of Mexicans, numbering about 600, who crowded out the Papago. At present there are five Papago families with about sixty people at the lower end of the village.[11] Quitoboquito is a small oasis with one of the largest springs in the Papago country.[12] It never was but a small village,[13] and the population is now reduced to one half-breed family operating a cattle ranch. The spring is on the American side of the boundary line, but the fields and ranch are in Sonora.

Several small villages of Sand Papago are located around Ajo. They are a nomadic and very poor people, having small houses and a field here and there. The largest remnant of the Sand Papago is located at Dome and Blaisdell, about twenty miles east of Yuma. The population of the two villages totals about two hundred. They have fields along the Gila River and work as laborers on the Southern Pacific Railway.

FACTORS INFLUENCING SHIFTS OF PAPAGO VILLAGE SITES OR OF THEIR POPULATIONS

Several factors have contributed toward a disintegration of the older and larger villages. To begin with, a degree of concentration was a necessity for security, especially against Apache raids. As the Apache extended the range of their raiding activities over the Santa Cruz and Altar Valleys, the Papago abandoned all out-lying villages.

At this time the old village of Poso Verde, Sonora, was deserted and its people went to Comobabi, Sonora. The place became frequented by Apache bands. In 1874 the only evidences of habitation were the remains of a few bacquals and of an old adobe fort built by the Papago as a protection for their frontier village and grazing range. The "well" was described as a sort of pit or natural tank with a strong flavor of alkali, cow-manure, dead coyotes, and decayed vegetables.[14]

[9] Lumholtz, pp. 330–31.

[10] A list of the former camps of the Sand Papagos is given by Lumholtz, pp. 394–97.

[11] A Papago family may include married offspring living under the same roof.

[12] Kirk Bryan, pp. 164–65.

[13] Hornaday, p. 122.

from the eastern border of the reservation near Three Points, through Sells, Quijotoa, and Santa Rosa to Chuichu with a branch running south from Sells to San Miguel and a second branch running west from Quijotoa to Ajo. The neglected areas, and the areas of smallest population, are in the east central (Schuk Toak District) and in the northwest and southwest sections of the main reservation (See map 4).

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365
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[184]

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Roads. A paved state highway (86) crosses the central section of the reservation, connecting Tucson and Ajo. Reservation villages served by this highway are: Havana Nakya, Ali Chukson, Sells, Quijotoa and Wahak Hotonok (San Simon). A paved county highway connects the observatory on Kitt Peak with Highway 86 about 10 miles inside the eastern boundry of the reservation. Another paved highway, built and maintained by the Bureau of Indian Affairs, connects with Highway 86 at Quijotoa and runs north to the reservation line near Chuichu. Here it connects with a paved highway into the town of Casa Grande on State Highway 84. This road serves the villages of Santa Rosa, Anegam, Gu Komelik and Chuichu.

Except for the paved roads mentioned above the only standard all-weather road on the reservation is from Sells to San Miguel, a distance of about 25 miles. Five additional miles of standard roads are found in the loop connecting Gu Achi with the Quijotoa highway and in the irrigated district at Chuichu. San Xavier is served by a paved highway which

The total number is 1,296, at least 30% of the Papago labor force. 162 464 [184]
These are the individuals who must be classified as "underemployed." They are predominantly reservation residents, and, as will be seen later, are drawn from the Papago population with little or no formal education.

The magnitude of the underemployment and unemployment problem is shown even more clearly in an analysis of Table 17.[1] Three hundred and ninety individuals [657] are recorded as living on unearned income (mostly welfare) and 234 individuals are recorded as being unemployed (mostly unemployable). The two classes together constitute 644 and when we add these to the 1,296 who are underemployed there is a total of 1940 Papagos, 19 years of age and over, who are unemployable, unemployed, or underemployed in a total adult population of 4,440 on whom we have employment data. The percentages are as follows: Steadily employed, 28%; unemployable, unemployed, or underemployed, 44%; housewives 24%; and students 4%.

Anyone interested in the "Indian problem" knows that it is the above group of underemployed and unemployed Papagos--almost half of the adult population--who must be the subject of central attention. These are the adults who have only common labor to offer in an industrialized society which is cutting its need for [791] common labor every day. These are the adults who cannot speak English, or handle it badly, who have had little or no formal education, and who were raised in the relative isolation of reservation communities.

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It is not assumed by the Bureau of Indian Affairs or by the tribal government that time will take care of the problems of unemployment and underemployment among Indians. A number of programs--employment assistance, vocational training, adult education, community development, and social and health service programs have been established in order to give special assistance to Indians. The range and type of services, and the numbers of Indians for whom these services are made available, however, are not in proportion to the magnitude of the Papago social and economic problems as they are defined in this report.

[1] [See Table on P. 98--Analyst] 104

464 484 494 In Pima county, at least, Papago cotton pickers seem to have become as fully mobile as any other harvest hands. Many Desert People who have moved to Tucson or live there during picking season ride trucks or buses to the fields each morning. The drivers, usually Mexican-Americans, establish regular routes from which they pick up hands, and the Indians are just individuals in a mixed crew of Anglos, Mexican-Americans and Negros. Some Papago families living in Tucson also move into labor camps on farms.

463 621 At nearby San Xavier the Desert People can choose either method of working. Those moving out to live in labor camps are generally irrigators and farm handy men who live away from their community most of the time, returning for religious celebrations and visits. Part-time laborers picking cotton usually take an uncomfortable ride to their jobs every day in canvas-covered flat bed trucks that usually have rough benches to sit on. At least one San Xavier man has escaped the bottom of the economic scale by hauling other Papagos to work in his truck even as other contractors.

184 Fewer Papagos ride to work each morning in Pinal county. The proportion of the total picking force hauled from the towns each day is also much smaller than in Pima county. The trading centers do not afford the labor reservoir available in big-city Tucson, nor the housing for migrant workers found in that city. So the 361 greatest part of the harvest labor is housed in camps on cotton farms, and many of the hands hauled from the towns live in what are no more than labor camps thrown up in the trading centers.

464 361 Despite increasing importance of mobile labor that is more efficient in that it can be put to work where most needed, most cotton farmers rely still on pickers living in their own labor camps on their farms. Four-fifths of the cotton farms in Pima and Pinal counties have these camps.[1] A few farmers operated more than one labor camp in 1950--1 farm of every 9 or so has been afflicted with two camps or more.[2] Some farmers built

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[1] 26 farmers of 34 giving data, 76.5%, in Pima county had camps. 46 of 57 giving data, 80.7%, in Pinal had them.

[2] 72 farms with camps had 82, averaging 1.139 per farm.
46 farms with camps in Pima county had 50 camps.
26 farms with camps in Pinal county had 32 camps.

Immediate reasons Papagos work--

461 794 796 Aside from the necessity for earning enough cash to buy food and clothing, there are other reasons for earning money. During the picking season three important religious events occur. These are the feast days of St. Francis of Assisi and St. Francis Xavier, and All Souls Day of the Roman Catholic ceremonial calendar. A very high proportion of the tribe goes to one [illegible] another, or all three.

795 184 Although several denominations have gained a foothold among the Desert People, the vast majority are orthodox or Sonora Catholics. Harvest hands in 1950 were about 95% Catholic.[1] The rest are about evenly divided between Protestants and individuals consciously rejecting Christian allegiance to practice native forms of religion or none at all. The Presbyterian church has the largest following among Protestant groups, with six congregations on the reservation. [797] There are other missions on the reservations. However, missionary activity does not extend to labor camps.[2]

484 788 782 755 776 From the great reservoir of Papago Catholics come the pilgrims to Magdalena, San Xavier, Chuwhiy Guwsk at fiesta time. These pilgrims make their journeys primarily to keep promises they've made to the Saint, or to ask him to intercede for them. Because they have very deep faith in the powers of St. Francis to cure illnesses, the Desert People frequently vow to the Saint that if the petitioner or one of his loved ones is cured, he will visit the statue of the Saint in the Magdalena (or San Xavier or Chuwhiy Guwsk) church. Often the person vows to make four such visits, to place a number of candles for the Saint, to leave him an amount of money, perhaps even to walk from the border to Magdalena or to perform some other penance.

78 [776] [778] Not all those petitioning the Saint seek health. Some ask aid in business, love or other ventures. The Desert People bring statues and pictures from their household shrines and chapels to press against the statue of the Saint for his blessing. They buy yards of bright ribbons, sold in shops thrown up about the

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[1] Based on information from 35 individuals.
[2] Not 1 of 9 persons questioned had seen a missionary in 1950. 1 had in a previous year.